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**INSECURITY COMPLEXES**  
**THE EU AND MEMBER STATES RESPONSE**

**Paper abstracts**

Donatella Bonansinga, University of Catania and Université de Liege  
*The Role of Public Discourse in Threat Framing: The Case of Islamophobia in Czech Republic*

Perception and interpretation of risks do not always come from a direct experience but are filtered by the mass media and political discourse. The message they spread and the interpretations of reality they suggest have a profound impact on the (mis)perceptions developed by citizens. Currently all over the European Union the Islamic threat as linked to terrorism is conceived and perceived as a fundamental threat to security. But is there a real threat? By means of a discursive analysis, this paper aims at exploring the dynamics of threat construction as related to the framing of Islam as an issue of security concern, by focusing on the role of public discourse and by providing some insights from Czech Republic (CZ). Czech Republic is an interesting case to study misperceptions, insecurity complexes and the manipulation of public discourse, as the percentage of Muslim population in the country is tantamount to zero but Islamophobic feelings are gathering momentum and rising consistently. The fundamental question driving the research aims at explaining why a country with a numerically negligible Muslim minority is experiencing growing public hostility, manifested through the raising mobilization of citizens against Islam. The hypothesis suggests that the exposure of public opinion to specific media representations and political rhetoric may induce misperception and the development of Islamophobic sentiments. The paper firstly goes through an overview of the literature on the topic; it then analyses the general trends in Islamophobic discourse in CZ, through the lens of the securitization theory.

Elisa Orofino, University of Melbourne, and Serena Timmoneri, University of Catania  
*Citizens of the Ummah or citizens of the State? The European radical Muslim youth as a "Trojan Horse" for the European Union: the case of Hizb ut-Tahrir*

Homegrown radicalism stands as a serious and actual threat for the European Union (EU). Prior to 9/11, a number of European countries showed a "laissez-faire" attitude towards extremism, but Madrid and London bombings were the turning point that pushed the EU to elaborate the 2005 *Strategy for Combating Radicalization and Recruitment to Terrorism*. Within this picture, the current paper focuses on how the EU is coping with menace of the European homegrown radicals. After having defined the object under analysis (i.e. who the radicals are), the authors will examine the effectiveness of the normative answers the EU and its member states have given. The selected case study – Hizb ut-Tahrir – represents a challenge itself for EU since it seems a crossroad between a political party, a radical movement and a terroristic one. Furthermore, it is active in 45 countries worldwide with headquarters in several EU states (such as Germany, UK and Denmark). This research will therefore contribute to a deeper understanding of radical movements' operative methods, strategies and their strong appeal to second generation young Muslims in Europe.

Kamila Anna Nowicka, University of Nicolas Copernicus, Toruń  
*EU policy towards Ukrainian - Russian conflict*

The Russian Federation annexation of Crimea stimulated a new direction of EU's external policy towards Russia (EU's biggest neighbour and one of the biggest trading partners) and Ukraine.

The paper describes and analyzes the main EU actions against the harmful influence that affected the EU, caused by the aforementioned conflict.

The paper tackles the following questions and issues:

1. Which EU's interests are in danger?
2. EU's reactions to the conflict. The main EU's actions and negotiations in effort to avoid an all-out war.
3. Representatives of which countries are the most empowered to represent the interest of the whole European Union community? - the scope of competences of the High Representative Federica Mogherini, the President of the European Commission - Jean-Claude Juncker and other active representatives.
4. EU sanctions against Russia over Ukraine crisis - are the sanctions really effective?
5. The current legal basis for cooperation between EU and Russia- Partnership and Cooperation Agreement, Association Agreement - obligations and responsibilities resulting from the acts.
6. New EU defensive and military strategy towards the Ukrainian - Russian conflict.
7. Financial consequences of the described political situation.

Daniela Nascimento, University of Coimbra

*Securing peace through humanitarian action: assessing the EU's capacity to respond to complex humanitarian and political emergencies abroad*

In the past few decades, the development within the European Union (EU) of various tools to respond to humanitarian crises (both natural and man-made), violent conflict and ultimately promote peace both inside and outside its own borders has led to an intense debate on the role of the EU as a security actor. From a discussion of the evolution of this crisis response mechanisms at the EU level (in particular the ones of a more humanitarian nature such as ECHO) to its operationalization, this paper aims at assessing the EU's instruments and capacity to respond to complex humanitarian and political emergencies outside its own borders and the extent to which it can actually promote peace and security at the international level. The argument put forward is that, despite the still existing limitations, the various conceptual and empirical developments at this level show an increasing will to assume its role in the international peace and security realm.

Petra Bishtawi and Marcello Carammia, University of Malta

*Asylum-Seekers and Responsibility-Sharing in the EU. Assessing the Protective Capacity of Mediterranean Member States*

In recent years, European Union (EU) countries have been the destination of an increasing number of asylum-seekers, and have renovated the call for a fairer sharing of responsibility among Member States. Any acceptable responsibility sharing mechanism, however, should be based on an objective assessment of what a fair distribution of the responsibility would entail. This, in turn, is far from an obvious exercise. We suggest that the notion of 'protective capacity' could be used for determining the fair distribution of responsibility for asylum-seekers and refugees in the EU. We develop a protective capacity index that combines three dimensions: the capacity to care for, to absorb, and to receive further displaced persons. Having discussed the mathematical construction of the index and operationalized its underlying dimensions, we use it to assess the distribution of asylum seekers across the EU in 2013, against the theoretical fair distribution based on the protective capacity of each country. Our findings show that the distribution of asylum seekers in the EU is indeed 'unfair'. Some countries carry a much larger share of responsibility than what would be proportional to their protective capacity. However, this does not necessarily reflect the general perception of countries in distress, nor the way single countries tend to portrait themselves.

Akil N. Awan, Royal Holloway, University of London  
*ISIS, Returning Foreign Fighters and Insecurity Complexes*

Claudio Cioffi-Revilla, George Mason University  
*Seeing It Coming' in Europe: Risk Assessment for Disasters in the European Region*

Aurélien Colson and Linda Benraïš, Institute for Research and Education on Negotiation, IRENE Paris  
*The EU CBRN Risk Mitigation Centres of Excellence Initiative*

In 2003, the European Council adopted two strategies, which set the stage for future actions in the area of security: the European security strategy and the European strategy against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. One of the instruments developed following the adoption of these strategies was the Instrument for Stability. The single biggest measure in the long-term component is the EU chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear (CBRN) Centres of Excellence initiative (CoE), with a budget of 100 million euro for the 2010–13 periods. The EU CBRN Risk Mitigation Centres of Excellence Initiative addresses challenges to security in countries outside the EU and includes both a short-term and a long-term component. It provides regional platforms for tackling comprehensively all aspects of chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear risks arising from natural disasters, accidental catastrophes and criminal behaviour, by involving all the key stakeholders at a very early stage, thereby fostering the development of expertise in the countries concerned. The paper will return to the concept of the initiative before envisaging the governance issues and the main challenges to sustain the CoE initiative.

Vincenzo Pavone and Elvira Santiago, Institute of Public Goods and Policies (IPP), Spanish National Research Council (CSIC), Madrid  
*Beyond the security paradox: ten criteria for a socially responsible security policy*

Over the past twenty years, the concept of security has undergone multiple reformulations; shifting from territorial integrity and national sovereignty to human security and, after 9/11, back again to a new concept on homeland security. The latter approach places a new emphasis on pre-emptive action, anticipation of threats and risk management, and fosters a massive implementation of surveillance-oriented security technologies [SOSTs]. As a result, security gets framed as a function of surveillance, which reinforces the idea that security can only be improved at the expenses of liberty and civil rights. Recent security policies, therefore, have produced a drastic reduction of civil liberties and subjected ordinary citizens to increasing levels of surveillance. Whilst any actual improvement in national and individual security remain controversial, these policies tend to neglect that SOSTs, which are meant to address the risks of security threats, are, and are often perceived as, risk-generating technologies. Drawing from the results of the SURPRISE project, we have conducted a qualitative analysis of more than one hundred round-table discussions, involving more than 1100 European citizens across 9 countries, on security, surveillance and privacy associated with three technologies: Smart CCTVs, Smartphone Location Tracking and Deep Packet Inspection. The outcomes suggest that European citizens live in a security paradox: while they seem to consider their country, and Europe in general, a safe place to live, they also call for the implementation of more security technologies and measures. Yet, these requests are not unconditional. Quite to the contrary, we have identified ten major criteria employed by the participants to evaluate, assess and decide upon the desirability and acceptability of these technologies. These outcomes not only question current policy measures inspired by the trade-off, they also suggest new, socially responsible way to increase security while preserving and fostering individual liberty.